

# THE DIAL

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## HARPER'S MAGAZINE

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IN this number, CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, in a paper of great practical value, describes "*The Outlook in Southern California.*" Many illustrations of scenery and interesting objects in the fruit-growing regions of California accompany the paper. The extremely popular series of illustrated articles on *South America* is resumed by MR. CHILD in this number, giving his "*Impressions of Peru.*" F. ANSTEE contributes an article on "*London Music Halls,*" illustrated from a number of drawings by JOSEPH PENNELL. In "*Another Chapter of My Memoirs,*" M. DE BLOWITZ tells how he became a journalist, and relates some reminiscences of the Franco-Prussian War and the days of the Paris Commune. The chief place in fiction is given to the opening chapters of *Charles Egbert Craddock's* new novel, "*In the 'Stranger People's' Country,*" illustrated by W. T. SMEDLEY. "*At the 'Casa Napoléon'*" is a story of *Life in the Spanish Quarter of New York City*, written by THOMAS A. JANVIER, and illustrated by SMEDLEY. "*A Modern Legend*" is a beautiful short story by VIDA D. SCUDDER. "*Saint Anthony—A Christmas Eve Ballad,*" by Mrs. E. W. LATTIMER, is accompanied by three striking illustrations from drawings by C. S. REINHART. Several other choice poems are included. The usual variety of subjects is discussed in the Editorial Departments, conducted by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, and CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

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## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.\*

The civil, political, and religious history of the New England colonies has been more thoroughly investigated and carefully written than any other portion of American annals; but no writer before Mr. Weeden has undertaken to treat their history solely on its economic and social side. The methodical manner in which those colonists conducted their business, and the habit of preserving their papers, furnish the most abundant materials for ascertaining their mode of life, and the means by which they early attained all necessary home comforts and a success in commerce and domestic industries which has no parallel in the colonization of any other people.

The Earl of Bellomont, royal Governor of Massachusetts Bay, reported in 1700 that Boston had 194 vessels in the foreign and coasting trade, and that a thousand vessels cleared annually from the port for the Southern colonies, West Indies and Europe, laden with dried fish,

\* ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND. 1620-1789. By William B. Weeden. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

lumber, masts, and naval stores, and bringing back the products of all countries. Boston at that time was the "mart town" of the West Indies, and the New Englanders outstripped all other nations in this trade.

The feeble Pilgrim colony which settled at Plymouth in 1620 had no part in this vigorous material development. It was done by the 22,000 Puritans who, under Winthrop, landed in Massachusetts Bay from 1630 to 1640, and by their descendants. Some writers err in using the terms Pilgrims and Puritans as meaning the same people. Both were Englishmen, but their history, habits of thought and proclivities were unlike. The Pilgrims, tamed by persecution and banishment to Holland, were living mainly for the next world. The Puritans, on the other hand, while not regardless of the next world, were for taking in a good share of this world as they went along. In 1640 the emigration to New England ceased, on account of the conflict rising between Parliament and the King, and more persons went back to join the parliamentary army than came over. For the next hundred years the immigration to New England was very small, and not equal to the number of persons who left it to join newer settlements. The rapid increase of population, therefore, during the period was wholly from the natural increase, and obedience to the Scriptural injunction, "Be fruitful and multiply." The number of children in families then seem in our day to be enormous. From that prolific stock has sprung a race of men and women who, by character, energy, and ideas, have largely controlled the tier of Northern States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For the first century and a half, the people of New England showed none of the roving tendencies they have since developed. They were isolated, having little personal intercourse, except in the way of business, with the other colonies or with England. They were multiplying, working out their own problems, and resisting the encroachments of England on their chartered rights. In these controversies they were the most acute diplomatists in the world. In manners and speech they retained habits and words which had become obsolete in England. The statement was made about forty years ago by Dr. Palfrey, that one-third of the persons

then in the United States had a strain of the New England blood which came over before 1640. During the present century the old hive has swarmed, and New England men are found in every community in our land.

The early material prosperity of New England was helped by the political complications in the mother country. From 1630 to 1640, Charles I. and his ministers were too busy with the troubles at home to give much attention to the American colonies. Hence the colonists managed affairs in their own way, and assumed powers and rights which were not defined in their charters. The revolution of 1640, the rule of the Long Parliament and the protectorship of Cromwell, were all in their favor, and gave the colonies twenty more years of undisturbed quiet in which to develop their business and commercial interests. On the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, these interests had become so large it was not easy for King and parliament to curb them.

The difficulties of making a settlement in an inhabited country are great, and are attended with more or less of discomfort and privation. Nothing in the way of contrast can be greater than the experience of the first settlers of Virginia and those of New England. Both classes were Englishmen, but they were not the same kind of Englishmen. The wretchedness and misery of the earlier years of the settlement at Jamestown would be incredible if the statement were not based on reliable testimony and acknowledged by modern Virginia writers. A history of Virginia by Mr. John Esten Cooke, himself a Virginian, appeared in the "American Commonwealths Series" seven years ago; and nothing can be more distressing, or more likely to debase one's estimate of human nature, than the narrative, as told by this Virginian, of what occurred during the first three years of the Virginia colony. The following is an extract from the notice of the book made by me at the time :

"We can understand how men not fitted for such an enterprise should engage in it; how they could miss of success by their quarrels and by weak and inefficient leaders; but it is inconceivable how Englishmen, Cavalier Englishmen, gentlemen—as they were proud to call themselves—should in a land of the highest fertility and most genial climate, neglect year after year to put in crops; should beg, borrow, and steal their corn from the Indians, or wait in idleness for it to come from England; and then actually starve by hundreds in a locality which is to-day the paradise of fishermen and sportsmen, and supplies the Chicago market with oysters, soft-shell crabs, and canvas-back ducks. 'The horrors of this terrible period,' says Mr. Cooke, 'are summed up in a

simple statement: Nearly 500 persons had been left in the colony in September [1609], and six months afterwards there remained not past sixty men, women, and children, most miserable and poor creatures. Of the whole number more than 400 had perished—dead from starvation, or slain by the Indian hatchet. At last they became cannibals. A man killed his wife and ate part of her body. An Indian was killed and buried, but the poorer sort took him up and ate him, and so they did one another, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs.'"

The New England colonists solved the food problem in a practical way by purchasing Indian corn of the Narragansett Indians and learning from them the mode of cultivation. Ground recently cleared of wood bore a good crop without ploughing. As the Indians of Eastern Massachusetts had been swept off by pestilence, their arable fields were planted. Excellent fish were abundant, and the shores furnished clams which are a luxury with epicures at this day. They had a bountiful crop of garden vegetables the first year. As commerce was needed to provide commissary stores for the rapidly increasing number of settlers, the ship carpenters were put to work, and on July 4, 1631, Governor Winthrop launched the first vessel, "The Blessing of the Bay," of sixty tons burden. During the next three years 10,000 bushels of corn were brought from Virginia. From the first, the colonists were well fed and happy.

The land was distributed and not sold. The Court made a grant of land for a town, and delegated the distribution of it to seven persons, who laid out the tract and assigned lots to individuals, not on a principle of democratic equality, but on the official and social standing of the individuals, their character, wealth, size of their families, number of servants, etc. Democracy and social equality were then terms which had no meaning. No one could have a voice in town affairs unless he had been elected a freeman by the Court, and after May 31, 1631, unless he was a church-member. August 3, 1664, this law was repealed by command of the King, although worse restrictions were in force in England. Each town enacted "Town Orders" such as the following: "No person shall entertain inmate for a longer time than three days, without consent of four of the selectmen, and shall pay for every day they offend, sixpence." As to attendance at town-meeting, it was ordered: "If any inhabitant shall fail of making his appearance at 8 of the clock in the morning, he shall pay to the use of the town two shillings; and if he shall absent himself above one quarter of an hour

without leave of the assembly, the like sum." Harsh as these laws seem, they were mild compared with those of Virginia and England at the same time.

It is interesting to see how a people who arranged their social affairs on this basis could conduct business matters, and first, shipbuilding. Hugh Peters, in 1640, at Salem, built a ship of 300 tons, called "The Trial," and in 1642 one of 160 tons was built at Boston. There was little or no money in the colony, and the shipwrights were paid in "truck." The business rapidly extended to towns where timber and living were cheap. Randolph reported in 1676 that the Massachusetts colony had 30 vessels of from 100 to 250 tons, 200 of from 50 to 100 tons, 200 of from 30 to 50 tons, and 300 smaller vessels. Of the smaller class, the "ketch," with two masts carrying lanteen sails, did a coasting trade, and even ventured on foreign voyages. Vessels could be built and sold at a profit of £4 per ton, and they found a ready market in the West Indies and in Holland. They were cheaper, and in strength equal and in sailing qualities superior to European vessels. In 1724 the ship-builders on the Thames complained to the King that their trade was injured on account of New England competition, and that their workmen were emigrating. About this time the schooner was invented at Gloucester, Mass., which holds its precedence among sailing craft to this day, as it will sail faster and can be managed with a smaller crew than a square-rigged vessel. Douglas states that the business of ship-building in New England maintained thirty different classes of tradesmen and artificers. The Pepperill family, at Kittery, Maine, built and employed more than a hundred vessels in the cod-fishery on the Banks, and their ships, laden with dried fish, lumber, and naval stores, sailed all over the world, and brought back cargoes from the West Indies, Portugal, and the Mediterranean.

Rhode Island and Connecticut each entered largely into the shipping business. In 1741 Newport owned 120 vessels; and in 1763, 184 cleared for foreign parts. Providence in 1764 had 54 vessels, of which 40 were in the West India trade and 14 were coasters. Connecticut in 1761 had 45 vessels in foreign trade. A remonstrance to the Lords of the Board of Trade stated that 150 vessels from Rhode Island went to the West Indies annually and brought away 14,000 hogsheads of molasses.

One of the largest factors in the early pros-

perity of the New England colonies was the cod-fishery. The Court in 1639 recognized it as an interest of the highest importance, and exempted vessels and outfit from all taxes, and fishermen were relieved from military training. Dried fish found a ready market and good prices in the West Indies and the Catholic countries of Europe. Codfish has an important relation to the early settlements in New England. Gosnold came on the coast in 1602, took great quantities of cod, and named the headland Cape Cod. Many a European vessel which came for ore, returned with codfish and made a profitable voyage. The book is yet to be written on the theme, "The Relation of Codfish to American Colonization." Fifty years before the settlement at Massachusetts Bay, 150 sails of French vessels, 100 Spanish, 50 English, and 30 Biscaymen, were annually on the Banks of Newfoundland fishing for cod; and it is strange that permanent settlement of the American coast was so long delayed. Codfish, which is now spoken of with disrespect, was once an emblem which graced the paper currency of the Massachusetts colony, and was surrounded with the legend, "Staple of the Massachusetts." In the old Town-house in Boston, erected in 1657, was suspended from the ceiling the effigy of a codfish. The building and the codfish were destroyed by fire in 1747. The building was reconstructed and the replica of the codfish replaced in the old State House at the head of State street. It is the oldest codfish in the sea or on land, in salt or in pickle; and now is suspended over the heads of the legislators in the Hall of Representatives in the State House on Beacon Hill. Dr. Franklin recommended the wild turkey for the position now occupied by the eagle on the shield and coinage of our republic. It is unfortunate that the claims of the codfish did not occur to him.

Whaling was another industry in which the colonies engaged very early and surpassed all competitors. Whales were then very numerous, and they were frequently stranded on the coast. Towns made contracts with local syndicates to have all drift and stranded whales at £16 each. The capture of live whales began in 1645 by watching for them from the shore and sending out boats to harpoon them. The south shore of Nantucket was divided into four sections, each of which was patrolled by watchmen. When whales became scarce near the coast, vessels were fitted out to capture them



in the open sea, and then the sperm whale was found which seldom came near the shore. The size of the vessels was about thirty tons, and they would be absent for six weeks. As the whales became still scarcer, larger vessels were used which ranged the ocean from Davis Straits to Cape Horn. The British government encouraged this fishery, and gave a bounty of £4 per ton on oil. The business prospered, and the whalers became rich. Edmund Burke said of it:

"Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people."

The annual products of this industry were estimated to be 45,000 barrels of sperm oil, 8,500 of right-whale oil, and 75,000 pounds of whalebone, which sold for 4s. per pound in Europe.

The policy of England has always been to discourage manufactures in its colonies. The early policy of New England was to supply itself with staple articles of its own manufacture, and the Court took these matters into its own charge. In 1640 it ordered that towns provide flax-seed, and ascertain what persons are skilful in breaking, spinning, and weaving flax, and that boys and girls be taught to spin linen and cotton; it also provided a bounty for linen, woollen, or cotton cloth, if the first two were made from wool or linen grown in the colony. Cotton was brought from the West Indies and Barbadoes. The Court recommended the gathering and spinning of wild hemp, which the Indians used for ropes and mats. Homespun industries were well established in 1643, and furnished the common wear of the people. Fulling mills were set up, and the hand-weaving of yarn sent in by families became a business. The town of Rowley had twenty families from Yorkshire skilled in cloth manufacture. The Court encouraged sheep-raising, and ordered the towns to inquire how many persons would buy sheep three years old at forty shillings each. The number of sheep increased from 1,000 in 1642 to 3,000 in 1652. The Court fostered every industrial interest. A rope-walk was started in Salem in 1636; a tannery in Ipswich in 1634, and later in many towns. These furnished enough leather to supply the people. Dry hides were brought from Virginia and elsewhere. Glass manufacture began in Salem in 1641, and the Court authorized "the town to lend the glass-man

£30 and deduct it from the next town rate." Saltpetre for gunpowder was collected from poultry-coops in all the towns, and Boston built a house for making gunpowder in the prison yard. The manufacture of potash became an important interest. One man could cut and burn the wood from four acres, and produce eight tons of potash worth £50 per ton. Of tar and pitch, from 7,000 to 9,000 barrels were exported annually. Wire was needed, and the Court ordered that "£15 be expended for a set of wire-drawing tools, and that the treasurer pay 40s. to any who might make cards and pins of the wire." Beer was the old English beverage, and the Court ordered that "no one shall make beer except a good brewer." "Beer sold at 3d. a quart shall carry six bushels of malt to the hogshead; 2d. a quart, four bushels; 1d. a quart, 2 bushels; and less in proportion."

Iron was an article of prime necessity, and the first attempt at iron smelting began at Lynn and Saugus in 1642, from hematite, or bog-ore, found in the meadows and ponds; and it was a success. Another plant was soon established at Braintree, and later one at Taunton. The Court fostered the business by taking stock, freeing the plant from taxes for seven years, and the workmen from military duties. They used sea-shells as a flux, and made a good quality of bar iron. Some of it was exported to England when charcoal iron was scarce. These works supplied the New England colonies with iron until the large requirements for ship-building made it necessary to import an inferior and cheaper grade of iron. The Crown Commissioners reported in 1665 that "a good store of iron" is made in Massachusetts. Iron manufacture has continued to be the leading interest in Braintree and Taunton to the present day. Lynn has been a centre of the manufacture of shoes for more than two centuries.

The labor question pestered the early colonists even more than it has the employers of our time. The laborers would strike and demand higher wages. The Court, which regulated everything else, thought it could adjust the labor question. In 1633 it ordered that the daily wages of superior mechanics, "master carpenters, sawyers, masons, clapboard-ryvers, wheelwrights," etc., "should not be above two shillings per day, or 14 pence and board." Master tailors were not to receive more than 12d. and inferiors 8d. per day with diet. A penalty of five shillings was laid if more was given or received. The next year the penalty was re-



mitted so far as the employers were concerned, and several laborers were fined for receiving more than 2s. 6d. per day. The scheme did not work, and was repealed in 1635. Free trade in labor was equally unsatisfactory; and in 1636 towns were authorized to fix the price of labor within their borders. In 1640 there was a general collapse in business and prices, as has been stated.

There were trusts attempted in those days. "The shoemakers of Boston complain of much bad work produced by their craft, and ask that they may be joined in one large company that all boots might be alike made well." The Court did not see the matter in that light, and declined to grant the boon.

For a century and a half the business of the colonies was hampered from the want of some standard medium of exchange. The first money was wampum; then beaver skins were used for money; then barter and "country produce," colonial paper notes, and "fiat money." Specie was so scarce as to be a commodity and not a circulating medium. In 1652 Massachusetts coined silver money, the shilling, six-penny, and three-penny pieces,—an attribute of sovereignty, which would not have been permitted if the Puritan Protector had cared to interfere. The first coin named was the famous "pine-tree shilling." These coins were issued for thirty years, but all bore the date 1652. They were below the standard of English silver, and were merely tokens which, it was supposed, would remain in New England; but they disappeared. The accounts of Harvard College during the period show that corn, cabbages, and turnips were a common medium of exchange. The Governor paid the college bills of his son in "country produce." Taxes were paid in the same manner, and sometimes fat cattle walked into the treasury. It was one thing to coin money and another to keep it in the country. It went to Europe and was melted up for what the silver was worth.

In 1690, Massachusetts began to issue bills of credit equal to money and payable to bearer. A period of inflation followed, and silver advanced to 17 shillings per ounce. In 1744, the colony issued bills to the amount of two million pounds to pay the expenses of the Louisbourg expedition. "Business, however," says Gov. Hutchinson, "was brisk, and men in trade increased their figures, but were sinking the real value of their stock; and the morals of the people depreciated with the currency." Great Britain repaid Massachusetts, in 1749, the ex-

penses of the Louisbourg expedition in specie, and Hutchinson, being then the speaker of the house of representatives, brought forward the scheme to use the specie in redeeming all outstanding bills of credit at the current depressed rate as compared with specie. It was a bold scheme and met with much opposition from the "fiat greenbackers" of that time; but his arguments and great personal influence carried the measure, and the redemption was made at the rate of one of specie to eleven of bills. When it was done, business with the outside world returned to its normal channels, specie was abundant, foreign trade became prosperous, and Massachusetts was not again cursed with a fiat currency until the Revolutionary War. Immense fortunes were accumulated by the merchants of Boston during the next twenty-five years.

The question of bimetallism was discussed as earnestly at that period as in our times; but silver was then the standard, and gold the commodity. The silver standard was 6s. 8d. the ounce, and gold, though not a legal tender, passed current at 28s. the guinea. A bill was introduced into the house of representatives making gold a legal tender at the above rate. Hutchinson opposed the measure on the ground that the relative value of the metals fluctuated; and that putting gold on an equality with silver would be "the first step of our return to Egypt. One only ought to be the standard, and the other considered as merchandise." James Otis took the other side, and the question was discussed with much earnestness and ability. At a later session, when silver had dropped to 5s. 3d. the ounce, a bill passed making gold as well as silver a legal tender.

For nearly a hundred years the dark shadow of slavery rested upon the New England colonies. There was abroad in the world no philanthropic sentiment on the subject. The first two negroes brought to Boston, in 1645, were sent back to Guinea by order of the Court. In 1677, some negro slaves were brought in from Barbadoes and exchanged for Indian captives taken in King Philip's war. In 1696, Madam Knight in her journal said: "The Connecticut farmers show too much kindness to their slaves." Judge Samuel Sewall, in 1700, printed a tract discussing the question "whether all the benefit received from negro slaves will balance the amount of cash laid out upon them." He concludes thus: "These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing that they are the sons and daughters of the first Adam, the brethren and

sisters of the last Adam, and the offspring of God, they ought to be treated with a respect agreeable." This is the first anti-slavery tract known, and although very mild it did not come too soon. There was a strange obtuseness in the minds of good men concerning the wrongs of the system and the enormous cruelties of the slave trade in which New England had a large share. The Winthrops and the leading clergymen had their black and Indian "servants." Slavery was conducted in New England as humanely as possible; but it was slavery notwithstanding. The most disgraceful feature was the trade in negroes carried on by New England vessels between the coast of Africa, West Indies, and the Southern colonies. Newport, R. I., was the chief port of the slave trade, but Connecticut and Massachusetts had a share in it.

In 1698 the slave trade was laid open to private competition by Parliament; and in 1708 the Board of Trade addressed a circular letter to all the colonies inquiring for statistics and encouraging them to pursue it, "it being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the King should be carried on to the greatest advantage." The African trade was carried on in vessels of 40 or 50 tons burden. The space between the decks where the negroes were stored was three feet, ten inches. The law restricted vessels from carrying more than two and a half negroes to each ton. Small vessels were found more profitable than large ones. The outward cargo was chiefly rum, provisions, vinegar, onions, and hand-cuffs. The negroes were exchanged in the West Indies for molasses, which was taken to Newport and distilled into rum which had driven the French brandies from the African coast. Governor Hopkins stated that Rhode Island, for thirty years prior to 1764, had annually sent to the coast of Africa eighteen vessels with 1,800 hogsheads of rum, and the profits were about £40,000. Newport had twenty-two distilleries.

The domestic use of rum was enormous in New England. As a beverage it was less injurious to health than modern corn whiskey. Massachusetts in 1750 distilled 15,000 hogsheads of molasses, and the product was used in the fisheries, the lumbering and shipbuilding districts, on shipboard, by common laborers, and for exportation to Africa. The price of a prime negro on the coast in 1752 was 100 gallons of rum. Cider was the common stimulating beverage of the farmers and middle classes. Merchants and men of wealth stored their cel-

lars with the fine wines of Portugal and the Madeira Islands. There was no prohibition or total abstinence in those days.

The houses of the people at first were poor and cramped; but as the country grew richer, the dwellings were larger, more comfortable, and some of them elegant. Many of the better class of houses with white oak frames built a century and a half or two centuries ago, now exist, are still occupied, and are good for a century to come. Some, like the Lee and Hooper houses in Marblehead, are admired for their exquisite architecture and interiors, and are copied in modern structures. The wide fire-place; the huge backlog; the crane; the spit, jack, and pothooks; the singing tea-kettle and pots large and small swung on the large crane; the massive andirons and the bellows,—all these are remembered by persons now living; but they are gone, except that the fire-place, backlog, and andirons are lately revived in fashionable residences. The tallow candle, pewter candlestick, and snuffers; the wooden blocks in chimney corners where the children sat and popped corn; the high-backed "settle" which shielded the shoulders of the elders from the cold and vagrant air-currents; the brick oven by the side of the fire-place; the brass warming-pan with cover like a strainer standing in the corner waiting for hot coals when the children are ready to go to bed in the attic; the basket of apples on the table, and the cider pitcher which went often to the cellar; the dresser with its gorgeous display of bright pewter dishes; the beams and ceiling hung with ears of seed corn, crooknecks, and links of sausages,—are typical of the content, comfort, and happiness of the early New England people.

John Hull of Boston was the ideal merchant of the first century. He was treasurer of the colony, and its mint-master. His ships went all over the world, and the letters to his captains in foreign ports are entertaining reading. He mixed up pious exhortation and pine-tree shillings, a pure conscience towards God and selected codfish, the dross of earth and the gold of heaven, in a delightful way. A captain advises him to send a cargo of pipe-staves, hoops, and codfish to the Canaries. He declines, and says:

"I am more desirous to be thoughtful of launching into the vast ocean of eternity, whither we must shortly be carried, so I might be in a prepared posture for my Lord's coming."

He usually concluded the instructions to his captains thus:

"Leave no debts behind you wherever you go; see to the worship of God every day in the vessel, and to the sanctification of the Lord's day and suppression of profaneness. That the Lord may delight to be with you and his blessing upon you, is the hearty prayer of your friend and owner."

He died in 1684, and his only daughter married Judge Samuel Sewell, making the Judge the richest man in the colony. The Judge's diary, in three volumes, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, is as quaint and entertaining as that of Samuel Pepys, secretary of the British admiralty; and both covered about the same period.

Mr. Weeden has done an important service to New England history in bringing together a vast amount of scattered material which has hitherto not been generally accessible. The labor he has spent on the work must have been enormous. The historical student reads it with such a feeling of grateful obligation to the author that he has no disposition to speak of its execution in other terms than praise. We may say, however, that we think the arrangement of the matter could have been improved by bringing together the facts pertaining to the same subject,—those, for instance, relating to iron and its manufacture. The index shows that iron is treated in about fifty different places. If these interesting facts had been collected and stated chronologically, the reading of the volumes would have been much easier. Hence it is a work to be studied with frequent reference to the index, and not to be read consecutively. The author had the materials for making a readable book.

The following surprising historical mistake must be noticed, that it may be corrected in the next edition:

"Numerous traditions attest the actual operations of the blue laws of Connecticut. . . . The code, whether written or unwritten, was certainly severe. No food or lodging could be given to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic. No one could run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one should travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath day. No woman should kiss her child on the Sabbath, or fasting day. Whoever brought cards into the dominion paid a fine of £5. No one could read common prayer, keep Christmas or saints' days, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp."

How any person in our day claiming to be a student of New England history can be ignorant of the fact that there never was a "Code of Connecticut Blue Laws," and that not one of the laws quoted above ever existed,

"written or unwritten," in Connecticut or any of the New England colonies, is a mystery. Everybody, we had supposed, knew that they were invented by Rev. Samuel Peters, a tory and pestilent Episcopal minister, who was banished from Connecticut in 1774, went to England, and in revenge wrote and brought out in London in 1781 a "General History of Connecticut," which is a monumental curiosity in the line of scandal and mendacity. The polemic writers of the Episcopal church have long used Peters's book for pelting New England; and a few years ago a grandson of Peters reprinted the book with the endorsement, as to its veracity, of the editor of "The Churchman" in New York. The character of Peters and the falsehoods of his book have been so often exposed, it is passing strange that the fact has never come to Mr. Weeden's knowledge.

W. F. POOLE.

#### LOWELL FOR POSTERITY.\*

Next to the approval of conscience, perhaps the sweetest reward that can accrue to a great writer from a well-spent life is to be permitted to live to set his papers in order, out of the reach of indiscreet friends, and to edit a definitive impression of his works. It is a source of satisfaction to every lover of our home literature, that Bryant and Holmes and Longfellow and Whittier and Bancroft have had this supreme reward. Emerson revised his works, but did not live to see the first volume of the final edition. Mr. Lowell may now also sing his *nunc dimittis* with peace of mind on this score, for the ten goodly volumes before us reflect him as he chooses to appear to the readers yet unborn of the twentieth century,—and after? Goodlier volumes, within and without, no reader need ask for; the publishers' part of the work has been even better done than in the case of the definitive edition of Whittier published last year. And when one considers the acute and suggestive criticism, literary, social, and political, the fascinating poetry, the eloquent and stirring appeals to our higher nature, the inexhaustible wit, which these volumes contain, one finds it hard to fix upon any author of the age whose works are more likely to be read generations hence. Hudibras apart,

\* THE WRITINGS OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Riverside Edition. In ten volumes:—Literary Essays, in four volumes; Political Essays, in one volume; Literary and Political Addresses, in one volume; Poems, in four volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.



what political satire in the language is so witty and pungent and quotable as the "Bigelow Papers"? How long hence will the literary historian cease to quote the "Fable for Critics"? What American poem is more likely to live by the side of "Snow-Bound" than "The Vision of Sir Launfal"? Is not the "Commemoration Ode" destined to become more rather than less popular, as the idealizing halo of time settles over the Event and the Man the poem celebrates? What Tennysonian or Swinburnian or Hugoesque ode has a better title to immortality? Finally,—to make an end of these vain surmisings,—what changes in literary taste are likely to render men so insensible to the charm of Shakespeare and Dante, Wordsworth and Spenser, Dryden and Pope, Chaucer and Carlyle, that they will cease to take an interest in criticisms in some respects the most penetrative and sympathetic that have ever illustrated those great writers?

These are at least fair questions. If variety of excellence contributed as much as concentrated power to make literary work memorable, I should deem Mr. Lowell's title to permanent fame as good as that of any living man. But ten volumes containing upwards of three thousand five hundred pages are a very large draft for a single writer to make upon the retrospective interest of a remote posterity, which will doubtless have literary interests of its own. It is discouraging to conjecture how many thousands of volumes by men of genius—and alas! women of genius—yet unborn, the critic of the year 2000 will have to read before he can decently pay his respects to our dear Mr. Lowell! In view of such considerations as these it does seem a little surprising to find that ingenious gentleman regretting "when it is too late" that he had not made his literary essays five or six times as long as they are. Possibly he is not thinking of the year 2000. Possibly, also, I misconstrue him; the reader shall judge. At the conclusion of the brief "Prefatory Note to the Essays," dated the 25th of April, 1890, he says:—

"Let me add that in preparing these papers for the press I omitted much illustrative and subsidiary matter, and this I regret when it is too late. Five or six lectures, for instance, were condensed into the essay on Rousseau. The dates attached were those of publication, but the bulk of the material was written many years earlier, some of it so long ago as 1854. I have refrained from modifying what was written by one—I know not whether to say so much older or so much younger than I—but at any rate different in some important respects, and this partly from deference to him, partly from distrust of myself."

Earlier in the same Note he says of himself that, "Though capable of whatever drudgery in acquisition, I am by temperament impatient of detail in communicating what I have acquired, and too often put into a parenthesis or a note conclusions arrived at by long study and reflection, when perhaps it had been wiser to expand them." Was there no candid friend to say to Mr. Lowell that it is precisely this pregnant suggestiveness which lends inexhaustible charm to some of these essays? As it is, he gives the reader a sense of reserve power which one would be sorry to miss. It is idle for him to lament that he did not spread a picturesque and sluggish stream in those places where he gathers the current of his thought into the narrow channel of a deep, swift race. The physical parallel holds good here: the pressure of a body of water depends, not upon surface expansion, but upon depth.

Twice before I have written of Mr. Lowell in THE DIAL: in February, 1887, on the occasion of the publication of "Democracy and other Addresses"; and in September, 1888, touching the "Political Essays." On both these occasions I spoke of the man and of his work with the glow of admiration which I still feel whenever I return to him, as I frequently do and shall continue to do. There are few writers to whom the younger critics of the day are more indebted for "inspiring hints,"—he confesses a similar obligation to Emerson. Perhaps it would be too much to call these hints, as he calls Emerson's, "a divining-rod to your deeper nature." But in cruising the seas and exploring the friths and fiords of the world of books, one need look for no more sagacious pilot than Mr. Lowell. Like Chaucer's shipman,

"With many a tempest has his beard been shakèd."

There is scarcely a coast where he has not made soundings, and no port so difficult of access that he cannot run you in or out without grounding. He can teach you to steer clear of unnavigable sounds and shoals, and, though a bold mariner, not afraid of perilous headlands and gusty promontories, he will conduct you upon no polar expeditions, whence at most nothing is to be brought back save your own bones and those of previous explorers. We have his word for it that he is a very patient reader; he is surely of all critics the least patient of the commonplace. Most critics have their "fads"; Mr. Lowell has none. Like M. Taine, he admires everything that can be called *literature*, and very little besides. He at least

will never betray his disciple into wasting his substance in riotous Barmecidal feasts. "I am apt to believe," he says, "that the complaints one sometimes hears of the neglect of our older literature are the regrets of archæologists rather than of critics. One does not need to advertise the squirrels where the nut-trees are, nor could any amount of lecturing persuade them to spend their teeth on a hollow nut." It is to be feared that Mr. Lowell has too much confidence in the instinct of his squirrels, but this sentence (from the essay on Spenser) was written before the day of Wordsworth societies and Shelley societies, and Browning clubs and *Kipling* clubs.

Some of my judicious friends reproach me with putting an extravagant estimate upon Lowell. So I should like to corroborate myself with the opinion of a critic whose judgment weighs. Such a critic I find in Edward FitzGerald, the translator of Calderon and Omar Khayyám. Intimate with the best writers and thinkers of his time, he delighted in telling them all exactly what he thought of their works. The candor of the following passage from a letter of his to Mr. Lowell cannot be questioned. He had mentioned to Mr. Norton and to Mr. Lowell himself that he admired the Essays with certain reservations. One of these, with reference to the "Moosehead Journal," was: "I did not like the Style of it at all; but 'too clever by half.'" In October, 1877, FitzGerald wrote to Mr. Lowell as follows:—

" . . . I have lately been re-reading . . . those Essays of yours on which you wished to see my 'Adversaria.' These are too few and insignificant to specify by Letter: . . . Were not the whole so really admirable both in Thought and Diction, I should not stumble at such Straws; such Straws as you can easily blow away if you should ever care to do so. Only pray understand (what I really mean) that, in all my remarks I do not pretend to the level of an original Writer like yourself: only as a Reader of Taste, which is a very different thing you know, however useful now and then in the Service of Genius. I am accredited with the Aphorism, 'Taste is the Feminine of Genius.' However that may be, I have some confidence in my own. And, as I have read these Essays of yours more than once and again, and with increasing Satisfaction, so I believe will other men long after me; not as Literary Essays only, but comprehending very much beside of Human and Divine, all treated with such a very full and universal Faculty, both in Thought and Word, that I really do not know where to match in any work of the kind. I could make comparisons with the best: but I don't like comparisons. But I think your Work will last, as I think of very few Books indeed."

Yes, Mr. Lowell's prose work will, *quoad* criticism, bear comparison with the best, and

some of it is likely to last. But his poetry? Certainly it has done noble service in its day. For my own part, I will acknowledge that I fear I like it too well to be a good judge of it. But I am inclined to agree with FitzGerald in what seems to have been his tacit opinion, that the poetry is not Mr. Lowell's most permanent contribution to literature. This with the exception of a few pieces, one or two of which I have already mentioned. What does Mr. Lowell himself think? The "Prefatory Note to the Poems" (Vol. VII.) concludes with these pathetic words: "As we grow older, we grow the more willing to say, as Petrarca in Landor's *Pentameron* says to Boccaccio, 'We neither of us are such poets as we thought ourselves when we were younger.'" This is dated the 9th of May, 1890.

What are some of the reservations touching the essays, which FitzGerald withholds in the letter quoted above? Doubtless they were either criticisms of detail such as any reader may make for himself, or else they are met by Mr. Lowell's explanation that the greater part of the literary essays were originally written as lectures. He adds: "This will account for, if it do not excuse, a more rhetorical tone in them here and there than I should have allowed myself had I been writing for the eye and not for the ear." Criticisms of detail might be multiplied, but they are beyond the scope of the present review. As, however, we are dealing with a writer for whom so much is claimed, of whom it is asserted that he need not fear comparison as a critic with the best, it may not be amiss briefly to suggest, in conclusion, one or two of the more serious limitations of Mr. Lowell's powers which such a comparison reveals.

As a literary critic, then, Mr. Lowell lacks philosophy, he lacks system, he lacks science. He belongs to the impressionist school of Coleridge and Hazlitt and Lamb, rather than to the more positive school founded by Sainte-Beuve and continued on one line by Matthew Arnold and on another by M. Taine. Mr. Lowell is singularly exempt from the tyranny of the *Zeitgeist*; he is remarkably innocent of the evolutionary tendency which has invaded every department of human research. Of course a powerful mind develops a philosophy of its own; and Mr. Lowell's astonishing talents and equipment, his broad comparative view of the whole field of literature, his rare poetic gift, and his generous enjoyment of the work of others, give unique value to all his judgments and *obiter dicta*. In particular it is to be noted

that his quick and delicate sympathy always moves under the escort of a vigilant sense of humor, which recalls him from those extravagances into which unattended sympathy is so prone to run. But what I chiefly wish to remark is that any advance one may note in the criticism of Lowell beyond that of Coleridge, for example, or of De Quincey, is due far less to a more scientific method than to the personality of the critic. He seems to have learned little from Sainte-Beuve, to whom he was doubtless introduced after his own method was formed. This is a great pity, for Sainte-Beuve could have taught him much, as he taught Matthew Arnold and the whole present generation of brilliant critics in France. Had Mr. Lowell brought his splendid powers to an inductive criticism such as that now practised in France by Taine and Brunetière, the results must have been of the highest interest. This he might have done had he in early life become imbued with the more scientific method of Sainte-Beuve.

In truth, however, Lowell, although fourteen years Sainte-Beuve's junior, was a much less modern man than that master-critic. Paradoxical as the assertion may seem, Lowell, with all his genius, lacks originality. This is why he has made so little mark upon the thought of his age. For all his acute judgments and brilliant epigrams, he has left the art of criticism much where it was when he took up the fallen mantles of Coleridge and Hazlitt. That he did not leave it in precisely the same place is principally due to the subtle invasion of the time-spirit, which no one escapes. Compared with Sainte-Beuve, who effected, almost single-handed, a memorable revolution in the art of criticism, Lowell appears ineffectual indeed. Compared with Buckle or with Taine, incomplete as their attempts at induction may have been, his influence seems slight. Compared with Matthew Arnold, whose doctrine and practice move in such consistency and harmony, how small a place does Lowell fill in the history of culture! What stream of new and fresh ideas did he set in motion and cause to prevail, as Arnold confessedly did?

I had intended to discuss the limitations by reason of which Mr. Lowell's sagacious and pure political addresses and essays have had so little influence with his countrymen at large. Why, with powers so much more various and dazzling than those of any other American writer,—I make no exception,—is he less a national favorite than any other of our six or

eight greatest names? A partial answer may be sought in the fact that he has something of the same scholarly inaccessibility and Bostonian perpendicularity which made the great-hearted Sumner disliked. Mr. Lowell thinks Goethe cold, but one cannot fancy the master of Elmwood putting so hospitable a legend under the engraving of his fine old mansion as that which Goethe wrote for the picture of his humbler house at Weimar.\* Mr. Lowell understood profoundly the great, the ideal side of Lincoln's character, yet it is probable that Lincoln would have had as little personal sympathy with Lowell as he had with Sumner. "Do you know," said he, "Sumner is my idea of a bishop." Lincoln and Grant understood each other, and the people understood them. But they could not understand such men as Sumner, Motley, and Lowell, nor can the people. Such is the price "the gentleman and scholar" pays for his privilege of caste. But upon this it were ungracious to dwell.

Finally, I cannot but express very great disappointment that the fine essay on Gray, which appeared some years since in the "New Princeton Review," should not have been included in this definitive edition. Perhaps Mr. Lowell will yet delight us with another volume or two. He is said to be writing the life of Hawthorne, and this is well enough; but why does he not comply with the reasonable demands of Fitzgerald and other friends, and add to his gallery the portraits of Cervantes, Calderon, Molière, Fielding,—and De Quincey? He has given us sketches of Fielding and Cervantes, but no finished picture.

MELVILLE B. ANDERSON.

\* I roughly translate as follows:—

Why stand the folk without and stare?  
Are not door and gateway there?  
If they'd enter bold and free  
One and all should welcome be!

#### THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.\*

The honored historian of the great revolutionary epoch has undertaken to trace and record the mighty movement that has given to the world a united Germany. His previous studies have been an excellent preparation for this important work, and the high regard in which he is held has gained for him oppor-

\* THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE BY WILLIAM I. Based chiefly upon Prussian State Documents. By Heinrich Von Sybel. Translated by Marshall Livingston Perrin. In five volumes. Volume I. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.



tunities for studying the movement that are absolutely unique. The archives of Prussia and of several of the smaller states have been opened to him, and we may rely upon his statements of fact. A reading of this volume assures us that his interpretations of facts may also be depended upon, for we recognize the judicial temper in his treatment of them. Without concealing his own opinions—and he was himself a part of that which he portrays—he is equally ready to see the mistakes of his own party or state, and to recognize the merits of his opponents. No one, for example, could show more clearly the wretched vacillation and quixotism of the benevolent Frederick William IV.; yet we can see that the author had for the King the same tender feeling that all had who came under his influence.

But the days of the Confederation are even more disconnected from the feelings of present Germany than are the days before 1860 from our own, for their struggle has not left behind it any such tremendous disturbing force as our negro problem with all its phases of trouble. The historian himself says: "The times of the old Bundestag are behind us, and they form a closed chapter of our past history. We are able to talk as dispassionately about Königgrätz as about Kollin and Leuthen." In this spirit he has written this work; that the Germans themselves recognize its merits is shown by their enthusiastic reception of it.

The first book, which fills a third of this volume, is entitled "Retrospect," and gives a summary account of German history to the outbreak of the revolution in the early part of that *annus mirabilis*, 1848. The special topics are the rise of Prussia to a rivalry with Austria, the results of the Napoleonic wars upon Germany, the workings of the Confederation of 1815 as dominated by Prince Metternich, and the beginnings of a national feeling.

With the outbreak of the revolution in Germany, in electric sympathy with the outbreak in Paris, the narrative becomes minute, and the rest of the volume tells the events of but little more than two years, the attempt to form a real national government after that upheaval. The story of that futile effort is of fascinating interest and great value to the student of politics. It is necessarily complicated, for there were many petty states manœuvring each for its own advantage. But though it is somewhat hard to follow in its frequent transitions from court to court, it has much to interest the general student of history

or of man. No one can understand the present conditions in Europe without a knowledge of that stormy period.

It is a striking change that the last half-century has brought about in Germany,—that from an apparently incorrigible individualism, inbred by the training of centuries, to a united and vigorous nationality. The Empire has been made possible only by the partial self-effacement of the beloved dukedoms and principalities, at whose expense it has gained its great powers by their voluntary bestowal. So thoroughly disintegrated was the land with its multitude of petty absolutisms, so completely had it resisted the tendencies that elsewhere united the federal states into strong nations, that it was hard to imagine any power or influence that could fuse those of Germany into one. But even while we wondered, the thing was done, the consummation of the longings of the few generous and patriotic souls was attained, and Germany stood forth among the nations a noble object for the devotion of a united German people. There seemed to be no such thing as German national feeling until far into the present century, and it must be accounted one of the many indirect blessings of the tremendous upheaval of a hundred years ago, through its later effects, the risings of 1830 and 1848. In Germany, that national feeling tended toward unity, as in heterogeneous Austria the same feeling tended toward separation.

We can see in German history, as shown in this volume, much to remind us of our own sad experience under our Confederation. Here was the same extreme individualism in the states that had grown out of the old isolated colonies, the same jealousy of a central government due to historical reasons, the same determination not to sink state identity in any powerful national organization. And the way out was much the same in both cases,—through confusion, selfish quarrels, anarchy. We emerged sooner from the darkness, for we had no Prussia and Austria contending for supremacy, and no absolute monarchs with power to thwart the wishes of the people when once they had discovered where their interest lay.

The reasons for the failure of the revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848 are readily seen from this narrative. The patriot leaders failed to realize the fundamental truth in politics, that any institution to be stable and lasting must grow out of the life and thought of the people. These leaders were doctrinaire philos-

ophers,—men who, without experience of free government, drew all their ideas from books, from the ancient writers and those of France, and from their own enthusiasms. It seemed to them that all their political institutions must be immediately changed and conformed to those of England or the United States, then the shining models of freedom. If popular discontent put these leaders in power, the bewildered people were unable to work the strange and complicated machinery put into their hands, the experiment failed, and a reaction brought back the despot, and with him more of relief to the people from their perplexity than of sorrow for their failure.

The rise of Prussia is one of the marvels of modern history. Though her course has been checkered with humiliation and disappointment, and not unstained by selfish aggression upon her weaker neighbors, it is perhaps no worse than that of her great neighbors. And the little state has grown in a hundred years to a power that has enabled her to humble the old and proud empires of France and Austria, and sit the arbiter of Europe. This story of the rise of Prussia, of the jealousy of Austria towards this troublesome neighbor, growing as the latter grew in strength and influence and ambition, of the desperate struggle of the old leader to maintain her position by wrecking every attempt at German unity that would exclude her non-German appendages, and of her success down to the fatal war of 1866,—this story is full of interest.

CHARLES H. COOPER.

#### ANDERSON'S EDITION OF BACON'S ESSAYS.\*

This is the only edition of Bacon I have ever seen which looks as though one would take pleasure in reading it through at a single sitting. No other would be likely to appeal so strongly to the person of literary proclivities and refined taste, who reads merely for the pleasure it yields or to acquire certain general notions of an author, his style and times.

Many have been and are the editions of Bacon's Essays besides those contained in his collected works. Out of these we may choose four with which to compare the one before us. Whately treats Bacon as a homilist treats a book of Scripture. Whately is a

moralist, and he seeks texts on which to hang discourses. The discourses contain abundance of sound ethical teaching, no doubt. The thoughts are the thoughts of an educated man; the tone is dignified; the language correct. We may even concede that the observations are, in the main, just. What then? Merely this: that after reading awhile one begins—unless he rebels outright—to look at the world through the eyes of Whately, rather than those of Bacon; the impression gradually deepens that the editor lacks the gift of self-effacement,—in short, the reader ends by persuading himself that, instead of getting a deal of sack to his bread, he is getting an intolerable deal of bread to his sack. Lucky is it for the editor if the reader never formulates the thought that the bread is not only plentiful, but uncommonly dry!

There is another kind of edition, designed for the student in school and college. This has an extended introduction; good, numerous, and sufficiently copious notes; information of various sorts contributory to the attainment of an independent opinion concerning Bacon's character and views. For this species Abbott's edition may be allowed to stand.

Still another is represented by Wright's issue in the Clarendon Press series. Unlike the last-named, the text of this is not modernized, but retains the eccentricities of the old spelling and punctuation, and a use of capitals which reminds one of German, though less consistent. Wright's may be called the scholar's condensed edition. It deals much in variants, in Latin renderings of the English of the Essays, and in references to parallel passages in other works of Bacon's. Its illustrative notes, in so far as they point out the sources of Bacon's thought or diction, are usually mere citations, unavailable without access to a considerable library, unless the reader is so learned as to carry a library in his head. Wright's edition is for classical scholars of leisure and—for other editors.

Lastly may be instanced the edition of Reynolds, which has just appeared. This is a generous octavo, with notes and notes,—notes at the foot of the page, and notes at the end of each essay. The foot-notes are devoted rather to verbal difficulties, the terminal notes rather to parallels and the explanation of allusions. The type is large, the paper good, and—justly enough—the price high. Reynolds's may be called the library edition, not unadapted to the person of general information and culture, but

\* THE ESSAYS OR COUNSELS OF FRANCIS BACON. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Melville B. Anderson. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

framed with an eye to the scholar, and sure to be prized by him, whether he is near an extensive library or not.

Different from all these is Professor Anderson's setting of the Essays. It was meant to be different, and it is. The foundation of our confidence in any edition is the assurance that it has a good text; in other words, that we have the author's speech as he meant to leave it to the world, or as he would desire that it should be presented to us. This means literal faithfulness at one extreme, and at the other the exercise of common-sense. In some cases, fac-similes of an original are serviceable, or editions which are virtually such. In others, the essentials may be rigorously preserved, while everything accidental with reference to the peculiar purpose of the edition will be ignored. The peculiar cutting of the type is always thus accidental; so is its size. Where the needs of the scholar do not require the retention of the old punctuation, the latter is often more negative than accidental; it is a positive hindrance to the apprehension of the meaning. The Elizabethan spelling varies from lawless to obstructive. Regarded as unfamiliar, and therefore "quaint," it may afford pleasure to minds of a retrospective cast, or peculiarly susceptible to the charm of association; it may even be insisted on by those who think nothing delightful that can be shared by many; but it is doubtless true that the anarchic spelling of three hundred years ago may and does stand in the way of wide popularity, and consequently of a general diffusion of the wisdom contained in such pages as these.

Professor Anderson has produced for us a sound text; that is, so far as I have examined, he gives us the words that accredited scholars assure us are Bacon's, but in modern spelling. His punctuation is lucid and usually convincing, though occasionally he resolves an ambiguity by re-punctuation when perhaps it had been better to allow the reader a choice of renderings. A specimen may be adduced from Essay XXVI. Thus he reads, "It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment," etc. Wright's edition has, "It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Iudgement." Now perhaps the latter is what Bacon meant to say; namely, that to persons of judgment, and not to others, it is both ridiculous and fit for satire. The conservative course, allowing choice of readings in the perusal, might here have been preferable (omitting

both commas would answer as well). But it is safe to say that such instances are few, and it is only fair to admit that the edition of 1612 sustains Anderson's punctuation.

The notes err neither by excess of number nor of length. If this be a fault, it is a good one in an edition designed for reading. True it is that Bacon's book is of the "few" that are "to be chewed and digested," and that in order to the full assimilation more help may be needed. But we must bear in mind that this edition is for the reader, not specifically for the student; and for the mere reader the notes are perhaps frequent enough. Then they are at the foot of the page, where they will least interrupt the course of the reading; and, I repeat, they are brief. Latin quotations are well translated, and whatever is offered is worthy of being received with confidence. There is no shallow philologizing nor ignorant darkening of counsel.

The Introduction contains only twenty-nine pages, all told, including the useful and suggestive Dates Relative to Francis Bacon and his Contemporaries. The divisions of the Introduction are: Original Editions and Dedications; Recent Editions; The Present Edition; The Form; Literary Style; Bacon and Shakespeare. One merit of the Introduction, and not the least, is its freedom from verbiage. In this day of much euphuistic spinning of filmy daintiness, glistening and iridescent when struck at a proper angle by the light, but mostly doomed to be swept into oblivion by some well-directed broom of criticism, or left hanging in forgotten corners where brooms have no need to penetrate, the man who says simply and clearly what he sees and what he means deserves the encouragement of general applause. Bacon himself would have applauded such a one. I quote concerning him from one of Anderson's quotations: "In the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal." Golden words these, and worthy to be committed to memory by every writer who aspires to live for posterity.

Not more than once or twice are Anderson's own pages disfigured by such a conceit as this (the italics are mine): "The student who would broaden his intellectual horizon cannot afford to keep his eye forever fixed upon the



*navel of a quarto volume.*" Closely allied with plainness of speech is strength of conviction. Here again Anderson is not wanting. He persuades because he is persuaded. A single illustration of his outspokenness may suffice: "The Essays are an epitome of worldly wisdom, a handbook for him who wishes to work men to his ends, a digest of most of the arts and shifts whereby the crafty and the unscrupulous succeed in that scramble for place and wealth in which the weaker goes to the wall." The qualities noted in the Introduction make it a revelation—regard being had to its narrow compass—of the man Bacon and his aphoristic wisdom of experience. It is not a piece of cunning self-glorification of Anderson; and this is its praise.

The book is well printed, of convenient form and size, and neatly bound. It is, and is likely, for some time to remain, the reader's handy edition.

ALBERT S. COOK.

#### BRIEFS ON NEW BOOKS.

SOME of the best of the rather well-known "London Letters" written during the last five years by Mr. G. W. Smalley to the New York "Tribune", are reprinted in two handsome volumes by Messrs. Harper. Naturally, one inclines to take a book more seriously than a newspaper; the former stands for, we may say, the guide and philosopher, the latter for the friend; and the "Clothes Philosopher" himself might sometimes wonder at the change wrought in the friend when he dons a fine blue coat with gilt trimmings—that is to say, a binding. The judgment usually passed upon volumes reprinted from the daily press, that they lack permanent interest and seriousness of treatment, by no means implies the unfitness of the matter for its original setting. Indeed, one may almost say that it implies its fitness. The journalist's first duty is to make himself readable; and experience tells him that his patrons, in the mass, do not look for or care for those weightier qualities of style and treatment without which few books are worth the printing. We speak now, of course, of American newspapers and readers. In England—where *pater-familias* at breakfast takes his "Times" with the easy hardihood of an ostrich pecking up a luncheon of four-penny nails—a different rule prevails. There is, however, a happy medium—fairly represented by these "London Letters"—between the extremes of ultra-American and conservative-British journalism: a union of the two, with a due weeding out of flippancy on the one side and heaviness on the other. This we apprehend to be what Matthew Arnold meant by the "New Journalism." The power of tempering the qualities of style and treatment which

one looks for—and does not always find—in a book, with the lightness and rapidity of touch, timeliness of allusion, and sure choice of the right topic for the right moment, that mark the work of our "newspaper men," implies not only a union of journalistic tact with literary training, but a certain personal gift. We read in one of these "London Letters," of Mr. Gladstone, that "in his hands, whatever it [the subject] be, it is entertaining; he has been known to discourse to his neighbor through the greater part of a long dinner on the doctrine of copyright and of international copyright. His neighbor was a beautiful woman who cared no more for copyright than for the Cherokees. She listened to him throughout with unflinching delight." We may say parenthetically, that those who have tried to make themselves interesting and morally intelligible to their fellow-man on the subject of international copyright will best appreciate Mr. Gladstone's feat. A fair share of this gift of brightening up a serious topic is possessed by Mr. Smalley, some of his most readable letters presupposing in the reader an intelligent interest in and a decent knowledge of current European politics and social questions. Writing for an American newspaper, he provides, of course, a liberal sprinkling of gossip and personal details—sometimes, we are bound to say, rather trivial, but always decent. Mr. Smalley is no scandal-monger; and that portion of the public which looks to the "correspondent" to supply it with the unsavory details of unsavory events will find cold comfort in his letters. With this exception, the range of topics touched upon in the volumes is ample enough to suit all tastes; like the German prescription, they contain something of everything, so that each case or individual may be met. The letters are the more interesting from the fact that the author has had personal relations with many great men of whom he writes; and those readers who turn anxiously to the chapters on "London Society," its customs, diversions, distinctions, rivalries, and outward aspects, may rest assured that Mr. Smalley's account is more authentic than that, say, of Thackeray's journalist, whose glowing descriptions of May Fair were written in a back garret by the light of a "penny dip."

In September, 1889, the first volume of the Century Dictionary was reviewed at some length in THE DIAL; the succeeding volumes have followed at regular intervals, and we now have before us the fourth volume comprising the letters M, N, O, and P. This volume, which is larger than any of its predecessors, contains more than 1,300 pages adorned by nearly 1,500 cuts. The whole number of pages thus far is 4,880. The publishers originally promised their subscribers a total of 6,500 pages containing 200,000 words separately defined. They now inform us that the total number of pages must be increased to 7,000 which will contain in the neighborhood of 225,000 words defined. So long as books last, this splendid work is likely to stand as a monument of the scholarship, taste, skill, and enterprise

of contemporary America. Not the least remarkable feature is the punctuality with which the publishers are placing the successive parts and volumes at the disposal of subscribers. If the next two volumes are produced with the same speed as the four now in our hands, next New Year's day will see this magnificent dictionary completed. Six hundred and sixty pages,—or about half the present volume,—are occupied by the letter P, which, after S and C, is the most important of the alphabet. The letter C covers something less than 700 pages, and the letter S is yet to come. In the new International Webster, P claims 132 pages, C 164, and S 200. These figures may indicate the relative comprehensiveness of the two works. The 660 pages devoted to the letter P contain some 30,000 definitions and encyclopædic articles. But these figures are bewildering. One gladly turns from them to the most attractive feature of this dictionary, the illustrations, which distinctly surpass those of any similar work known to us and are equalled nowhere save in the best special works relating to art, natural history, etc. For pure æsthetic delight, commend us to the illustrations of sculpture, of architecture, of the mechanic arts, of plants, birds, snakes, and monkeys in this dictionary, above the dilettantism of any gift-book of the season. It may not be amiss to remind our readers that this book is a combined dictionary and encyclopædia of things (*not* of persons and places), under one alphabet. As a dictionary of words, it is doubtless the most accurate, as it is the completest and the most comprehensive, that has yet been produced. As an encyclopædia it is characterized by the greatest precision possible without violence to clearness. It is an *American* work in the best sense, and naturally gives more space to domestic arts, animals, plants, etc., and to *cis-Atlantic* locations, than any foreign dictionary or encyclopædia could be expected to give. (The Century Co., New York; McDonnell Bros., Chicago.)

Few volumes more interesting to the student of the growth of military science have lately been issued than "Alexander, a History of the Origin and Growth of the Art of War from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus," written by Colonel Theodore A. Dodge, and published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., in the series entitled "Great Captains." In seven hundred ample pages, Colonel Dodge follows the history of Alexander's campaigns with critical analysis, and in a style and method especially fitted to the needs of the modern reader. The earlier chapters are devoted to an account of the methods of ancient warfare, and contain spirited descriptions of military usages of early nations. These chapters are fully illustrated by cuts from coins, marbles, and ceramics. The combat of the Greeks and Trojans, for example, as represented upon the marbles from Egina (now in Munich), has been so treated as to bring out the details of the armor and weapons of the Trojan time,—swords, spears, axes, shields, and weapons of every sort, from Greece,

Persia, and Egypt, being reproduced very fully and accurately. The chapter upon "Philip and his Army" contains an excellent description of the Macedonian phalanx and of the whole military equipment of the phalangite. This chapter can be commended as the best available *résumé* on the subject. The author follows Alexander from Macedonia to the Indus, and interprets the military side of this wonderful triumphal march so understandingly that the reader feels that he has never before realized the consummate military skill that made Alexander the conqueror of the Orient. The material from which a completely accurate account of this march could be constructed is, of course, wanting. Colonel Dodge has relied principally upon Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, among the ancients; and, adding what can be gathered from other sources, has interpreted the hero to us in the light of modern military science. As he himself remarks, in speaking of the charts, etc., of the campaigns, "accuracy is not always possible"; but so far as the material will admit, the author has been conscientious in its use as well as logical in his conclusions.

No writer has pictured more vividly the stirring incidents of frontier army life, the march across the plains, the bivouac, the dash and hurry of Indian fighting, than Captain Charles King; and his breezy, wholesome books are always sure of their public. Under the title "Campaigning with Crook," Harper & Brothers issue a series of sketches by Captain King—originally contributed to a Milwaukee daily—descriptive of the Sioux campaign of 1876. The papers were not subjected to a polishing process as a preliminary to their appearance in covers, and the author rates them, in his preface, as "rough sketches, but no rougher than the campaign." While an occasional amendment might be suggested, we think that on the whole the book is better as it is; the direct, rapid style is well suited to the matter; the sketches were written shortly after the events narrated took place, and the vigor of expression born of vivid recollection and quickened feeling might, perhaps, have been refined away in later revision. There are several noticeably good bits of descriptive writing in the volume, of which the following example—relating the death-scene of the Chief "American Horse"—may be selected: "Dr. Clements examines his savage patient tenderly, gently as he would a child; and though he sees that nothing can save his life, he does all that art can suggest. It is a painful task to both surgeon and subject. The latter scorns chloroform, and mutters some order to a squaw crouching at his feet. She glides silently from the tepee, and returns with a bit of hard stick; this he thrusts between his teeth, and then, as the surgeons work, and the sweat of agony breaks out upon his forehead, he bites deep into the wood, but never groans nor shrinks. Before the dawn his fierce spirit has taken its flight, and the squaws are crooning his death-chant by his side."

The volume is tastefully bound and well illustrated, and contains, in addition to the campaign sketches, three short stories in the author's familiar vein.

AN elementary history of Indian literature has long been needed, and the want is now supplied in the manual prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth B. Reed. The work is entitled "Hindu Literature; or, The Ancient Books of India" (Griggs), and, without being a work of original scholarship, is a careful compilation of the results obtained by the last half-century of fruitful investigation. Mrs. Reed is evidently familiar with the best English work done in this field, and makes a judicious use of the writings of Wilson, Müller, and Monier-Williams. The book is, of course, far more elementary, besides being more limited in its scope, than Weber's history of the subject, and is prepared for a different class of readers. Its scope, in fact, only includes the Vedic literature and the epics, nothing being said of the drama, of the great body of Buddhist literature, or of the work done by the later Sanskrit writers in grammar, philosophy, and criticism. On the other hand, the Vedic literature, including the Upanishads and the Puranas, is fully analyzed and described; the epics and the legislation of Manu are treated at considerable length, and there are carefully written chapters upon the subjects of cosmogony and metempsychosis. The chapter upon Krishna has been revised by Professor Monier-Williams, and other portions of the work have had the benefit of Professor Max Müller's authoritative criticism. So the work comes to us with an authority not often possessed by compilations of the sort, and, as far as we have been able to observe, its statements of fact are in accordance with the results obtained by the most advanced scholarship. A characteristic feature of the work is found in the abundance of passages translated and introduced for the purpose of illustration.

THERE is perhaps no more delightful experience in life than to listen to the conversation of a trained scholar or man of letters in his own study, when the company is small (if only *one-to-one* so much the better), when he is without thought of the public, and is under no obligation to be exhaustive or consecutive. Scarcely second to the pleasure of such a personal meeting is the reading of a book which gives the impression of similar conditions,—a full mind loving to talk and sure of the sympathy of his listeners. We feel this charm in Charles Lamb nearly always, in James Russell Lowell very often, in William Hazlitt in his occasional informal moods; and now we have a new volume of essays worthy to be named even with these,—"*My Study Fire*" (Dodd) by Hamilton Wright Mabie. There are thirty-two chapters, the special headings of which are of small consequence. For let the subject be what it may—"The Fire Lighted," "A Text from Sidney," "The Cuckoo Strikes Twelve," or even anything so commonplace as "A New Hearth,"—immediately a

whole brood of delicate thoughts, fancies, and reflections arise and cluster around it and us with their subtle indefinable grace. It is not too much to say of Mr. Mabie, as Saintsbury has said of Hazlitt, "He is a born man of letters, and cannot help turning everything he touches into literature."

ANOTHER volume of essays in a similar vein as those of Mr. Mabie is Mr. E. Conder Gray's "*Making the Best of Things*" (Putnam). But the nameless spell of Mr. Mabie is absent in Mr. Gray. It is not that his book is dull, nor lacking in worthy thoughts, nor without a certain value for a large variety of apt quotations; but it seems the work of an artisan rather than an artist. Almost anyone, if so minded, could, we should think, produce such a book, provided he should for a sufficient length of time keep a commonplace-book, or file his notes of the books he reads. For example, in the chapter called "*Falling in Love*" not only are there brief illustrative citations from Shakespeare, Tennyson, George Meredith, Leland, Matthew Browne, Dante, and others, but Browning's poem of "*Evelyn Hope*" is given in full with the exception of the first stanza, closely followed by a long extract from Longfellow's "*Courtship of Miles Standish*" and another from Vere Claverling's novel of "*Barcaldine*." Still there are doubtless many who will relish the not unwholesome *ragout* served in this book.

A USEFUL and compact little "*Handbook of Historic Schools of Painting*," by D. L. Hoyt of the Massachusetts Normal Art School, is published by Ginn & Co. The author's aim is to give in a simple and condensed form some general knowledge of the great historic schools of painting, their characteristics, chief artists, and some of the most noted paintings of each. The present condition of painting in the different schools is also briefly touched upon; and at the close of the book are to be found a list of the emblems by which different saints and other characters in old religious paintings may be known, definitions of technical art terms, and an index of artists' names together with their proper pronunciation. This little manual seems to us careful and accurate so far as it goes, and should be especially useful to lay readers who desire a decent knowledge of historic art, and lack courage or time to attack the voluminous works of Lübke and Kugler.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN & Co. issue in a well-printed volume of 230 pages the "*Tale of Troy*," done into English by Aubrey Stewart, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. This little book, containing a compact, clearly-told narrative of the chief events from the carrying off of Helen to the fall of Troy, should prove both interesting and instructive to young readers; and may even serve, in a small way, as a royal road to Homeric learning for those who lack taste or opportunity to go to the fountain-head.



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

[The following list includes all books received by THE DIAL during the month of December, 1890.]

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

- The Finding of Wineland the Good: The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America. Edited and translated from the Earliest Records, by Arthur Middleton Reeves. Illustrated with phototype plates of the Vellum MSS. of the Sagas. 4to, pp. 205, uncut, gilt top. London: Henry Frowde. Half-vellum, \$11.00.
- Pingal's Cave, in the Island of Staffa: An Historical, Archaeological, and Geological Examination. Illustrated, 8vo, pp. 49. Robert Clarke & Co. 75 cents.

## HISTORY—BIOGRAPHY.

- The Greek World under Roman Sway, from Polybius to Plutarch. By J. P. Mahaffy, author of "Social Life in Greece." 12mo, pp. 418, uncut. Macmillan & Co. \$3.00.
- A. M. Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society of Uganda. By his Sister. With Portrait and Map, 12mo, pp. 488. A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.50.
- The Life of an Artist: An Autobiography. By Jules Breton. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. With Portrait. 12mo, pp. 350. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

## LITERARY MISCELLANY.

- The Writings of George Washington. Collected and edited by Worthington Chamney Ford. In 14 vols. Vol. VIII., 1779-1780. Royal 8vo, pp. 508, uncut, gilt top. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$5.00.
- Curiosities of the American Stage. By Laurence Hutton, author of "Plays and Players." Illustrated, 8vo, pp. 347, uncut, gilt top. Harper & Bros. \$2.50.
- Myths and Folk-Tales of the Russians, Western Slavs, and Magyars. By Jeremiah Curtin. 12mo, pp. 555, uncut, gilt top. Little, Brown, & Co. \$2.00.
- The Story of My House. By George H. Ellwanger, author of "The Garden's Story." With Frontispiece, 16mo, pp. 286, uncut, gilt top. D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- The Philosophy of Fiction: An Essay. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, author of "Social Progress." 12mo, pp. 224. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.
- Life. By M. J. Savage. 12mo, pp. 237. Geo. H. Ellis. \$1.
- The Lady from the Sea, and other Plays. By Henrik Ibsen. Translated by Clara Bell. 16mo, pp. 520. Lovell's "Series of Foreign Literature." Paper, 50 cents.

## POETRY.

- Songs of a Savoyard. By W. S. Gilbert. Illustrated by author. 8vo, pp. 142. George Routledge & Sons. \$2.50.
- The Lion's Cub, with Other Verse. By Richard Henry Stoddard. With Portrait. 16mo, pp. 153, gilt top. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses. By Rudyard Kipling, author of "Plain Tales from the Hills." 12mo, pp. 270, uncut, gilt top. U. S. Book Co. \$1.25.
- Ballads. By Robert Louis Stevenson. 16mo, pp. 85, gilt top. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.00.
- Rose Brake. Poems by Danske Dandridge, author of "Joy, and Other Poems." 24mo, pp. 110. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 75 cents.
- Under the Nursery Lamp: Songs about the Little Ones. 24mo, pp. 87, gilt edges. A. D. F. Randolph. 75 cents.
- Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning: A Pocket Volume. Sm. crown 8vo, pp. 319. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 40 cents.
- The Franklin Square Song Collection, Number 7: Songs and Hymns. Selected by J. P. McCaskey. 8vo, pp. 184. Harper & Bros. Paper, 50 cents.
- The Morning Hour: A Daily Song Service for Schools. By Irving Emerson, O. B. Brown, and George E. Gay. 8vo, pp. 112. Ginn & Co. 60 cents.

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